

Message Text

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FOR CARTER FROM PA

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIO (VANCE)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT JOSEPH KRAFT OP-ED COLUMN WASHINGTON
POST TUESDAY MAY 10 HEADED "SALVAGING A DEFEAT AT THE
SUMMIT."

2. AMIDST THE GENERAL GLOW OF SUCCESS, THE LONDON SUMMIT
REGISTERED ONE DEFEAT THAT THE UNITED STATES - AND THE
WORLD - SHOULD NOT HAVE SUFFERED: PRESIDENT CARTER'S EFFORT
TO BREAK THE LINK BETWEEN THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR ENERGY AND
THE SPREAD OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS WAS SENT BACK TO COMMITTEE

3. BUT WITH THE RIGHT FOLLOW-UP, THE PRESIDENT'S GOAL CAN
STILL BE ACHIEVED. IT IS THUS USEFUL TO STUDY THE MISTAKES
THAT LED TO THE SETBACK IN LONDON.

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4. AT THE HEART OF THE ISSUE IS THE RISE IN OIL PRICES,
WHICH HAS PUT A HEAVY PREMIUM ON NUCLEAR ENERGY. SOME NU-
CLEAR PLANTS, NOTABLY THE LIGHT-WATER REACTORS, WHICH THE
UNITED STATES IS EMPHASIZING, CAN BE MADE PERFECTLY SAFE.

5. BUT SOME COUNTRIES - NOTABLY GERMANY, FRANCE AND
JAPAN - HAVE INCENTIVES TO MOVE BEYOND THE LIGHT-WATER

REACTOR. THEY DO NOT HAVE LOCAL SOURCES OF NUCLEAR FUEL, NOR EASY MEANS OF DISPOSING OF NUCLEAR WASTES. THEY LACK, OR CANNOT COMFORTABLY BURN, THE COAL THAT THE U.S. WILL BE USING TO SUPPLEMENT ITS NUCLEAR ENERGY.

6. FOR ALL THESE REASONS, GERMANY, FRANCE AND JAPAN HAVE BEEN HIGHLY INTERESTED IN REPROCESSING SPENT NUCLEAR FUEL. THE REPROCESSING PLANTS YIELD MORE ENERGY, AND THEY COULD OPEN THE WAY TO BREEDER REACTORS, WHICH COULD BOTH MULTIPLY THE ENERGY YIELD AND ABSORB NUCLEAR WASTES.

7. THE TROUBLE IS THAT THE REPROCESSING PLANTS ALSO YIELD PLUTONIUM, WHICH CAN BE USED FOR NUCLEAR WEAPONS. THAT DIFFICULTY BECAME ALARMING A COUPLE OF YEARS AGO WHEN GERMANY AND FRANCE MADE NUCLEAR DEALS THAT WOULD HAVE FACILITATED DEVELOPMENT OF REPROCESSING PLANTS TO BRAZIL AND PAKISTAN.

8. CARTER SEIZED ON THIS ISSUE EARLY IN HIS PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN, AND ONCE IN OFFICE MOVED HARD TO STOP THE SPREAD OF REPROCESSING PLANTS. AMERICAN NEGOTIATIONS TRIED TO KILL THE GERMAN DEAL WITH BRAZIL AND THE FRENCH DEAL WITH PAKISTAN. THE PRESIDENT PERSONALLY ASKED PRIME MINISTER FUKUDA TO PUT OFF ACTIVATING JAPAN'S REPROCESSING PLANT. TO DRIVE THE POINT HOME, AMERICAN SUPPLIES OF CERTAIN NUCLEAR FUEL, WHICH ALL THREE COUNTRIES NEED, WERE SHOWN DOWN.

9. INSTEAD OF SALUTING, HOWEVER, THE ALLIED COUNTRIES
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PUT THEIR BACKS UP. THE GERMANS EXPLICITLY, AND THE FRENCH AND JAPANESE ONLY SLIGHTLY LESS SO, REFUSED TO COMPLY WITH WHAT THEY THOUGHT WAS A UNILATERAL AMERICAN ORDER.

10. CARTER'S ADVISERS, WITH GREAT DIFFICULTY, PERSUADED THE PRESIDENT TO BACK OFF. AT THE LONDON SUMMIT THE WHOLE ISSUE WAS REFERRED TO A COMMITTEE TO STUDY THE 'NUCLEAR FUEL CYCLE.#

11. THAT SOUNDS TECHNICAL ENOUGH TO MEAN BURIAL. BUT IT DOESN'T HAVE TO BE. FOR ONE THING THE COMMITTEE STUDY BY ITSELF INTERNATIONALIZES THE CARTER EFFORT.

12. IT IS NO LONGER JUST A UNILATERAL PROPOSAL IMPOSED ON OTHER COUNTRIES FOR REASONS OF AMERICAN DOMESTIC POLITICS. THE LESS SO AS CARTER HAS NOW RESUMED THE NORMAL FLOW OF URANIUM SHIPMENTS, AND IS ABOUT TO APPOINT A SPECIAL NEGOTIATOR IN THE FIELD, A MAN NOTED FOR HIS MOLLIFYING QUALI-

TIES: FORMER DISARMAMENT NEGOTIATOR GERARD C. SMITH.

13. THERE ARE, MOREOVER, TWO OTHER STEPS THE PRESIDENT CAN TAKE TO ENSURE THAT HIS BASIC IDEA IS NOT BURIED IN COMMITTEE. FIRST, HE CAN MOVE TO CREATE A SHARED SENSE OF DANGER. A WORLD FULL OF COUNTRIES, AND EVEN TERRORISTS, WITH NUCLEAR ARMS IS A HORROR. THERE IS A CHANCE TO STOP THE SPREAD, OR SLOW IT DOWN, AND IT IS HARD TO BELIEVE THAT THE GERMANS, FRENCH AND JAPANESE ARE TOTALLY IMMUNE TO THE PRESIDENT'S WORRIES.

14. SECOND, THERE IS A NEED TO SPELL OUT, IN WAYS THAT EVERYBODY CAN GRASP, THE KIND OF INTERNATIONAL NUCLEAR REGIME THE PRESIDENT HAS IN MIND. AS I UNDERSTAND IT, HE FAVORS MAKING NUCLEAR ENERGY AVAILABLE AS A KIND OF EVERYDAY COMMODITY - LIKE COAL OR GAS. THE ONLY DIFFERENCE IS THAT AT CERTAIN POINTS OF THE NUCLEAR CYCLE - POINTS WHICH

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ARE DANGEROUS BECAUSE THEY ARE ASSOCIATED WITH WEAPONS OR RADIATION - TIGHT INTERNATIONAL CONTROLS WOULD BE APPLIED IN ALL COUNTRIES, THE U.S. AS MUCH AS FRANCE OR BRAZIL OR PAKISTAN. IN THAT WAY THE NUCLEAR ISSUE WOULD BE DECHAUVINIZED.

15. THUS THE DEFEAT REGISTERED AT THE LONDON SUMMIT NEED NOT BE FINAL. WITH A TOUCH OF HIS FAMOUS PERSISTENCE, CARTER CAN STILL GET THE NUCLEAR REGIME WHICH WE ALL NEED FOR A SAFER WORLD. (END TEXT) CHRISTOPHER

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